



# Angeliki E. Laiou

## 1941–2008

CÉCILE MORRISSON | ALICE-MARY TALBOT

“Όταν θα θέλουν οι Έλληνες να καυχηθούν,  
“Τέτοιους βγάζει τὸ ἔθνος μας” θὰ λένε  
γιὰ σᾶς. Ἐτσι θαυμάσιος θάνατι ὁ ἔπαινός σας.

C. P. Cavafy, 1922

Twenty years ago in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), Angeliki Laiou wrote the obituary of “one of the greatest Byzantinists of our days,” “un géant de la byzantinologie.”<sup>1</sup> Sadly, both phrases can be applied to her today. With her death, the world of Byzantinists has lost one of its greatest scholars, and Dumbarton Oaks an irreplaceable pillar of its research program.

On 11 December 2008, Angeliki Laiou died in Boston, Massachusetts of a rare and devastating anaplastic carcinoma of the thyroid, the first symptom of which appeared in September of the same year, and which she courageously fought with great lucidity. During these three months, which she knew were her last, she devoted all her remaining strength to meeting as many of her commitments as possible. Just a week before her death she sent letters of appreciation on behalf of her best students, to be kept in the university’s files for their future applications; an epitome of the indefatigable energy that characterized her whole life and of the precocity of all its stages, including the last.

Born in Athens on 6 April 1941 to a family originating from Boeotia on her father’s side and from Pyrgos/Burgas and the Thracian littoral on her mother’s, she

studied in Athens. After her first year at the university, where her scientific interest in Byzantium is said to have been kindled by the great historian Dionysios Zakynthinos, she moved to the United States in 1959, received her BA *summa cum laude* from Brandeis in 1961, studied at Harvard University under the great specialist of the Crusades, Robert Lee Wolff, and obtained her PhD in Byzantine history in 1966. She was only 25. She acted as instructor and assistant professor at Harvard until 1972, and from 1972 to 1975 she taught at Brandeis as associate professor. She then moved to Rutgers University, where she was appointed professor in 1975, as the successor to Peter Charanis, and then distinguished professor in 1979. In 1978 and 1979, on leave from Rutgers, she served as the director of the Gennadius Library in Athens as the Samuel Kress Professor of Hellenic Studies. She would have preferred to remain in Greece, and she applied to the University of Athens for the chair of Byzantine Civilization formerly held by Phaidon Koukoules (1881–1956). However, she did not receive the required number of votes and she returned to the States. In 1981, at the age of 40, she became the only tenured woman in the history department at Harvard, as the Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Byzantine History, the position she held until her untimely departure. Four years later she was

1 “Paul Émile Lemerle,” *DOP* 43 (1989): xii, and *Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance* (Paris, 1992), 7.

elected as the first woman chair of the history department and indeed of any department at Harvard. This was not the result of political correctness or affirmative action, a suggestion she would have loathed. Rather, it was the recognition of her scholarly productivity, of her charismatic teaching, and of her desire and commanding ability to fight for *le bien public* of whichever community she belonged to. Many of her colleagues remember how quickly she understood “the ropes as well as the rules . . . [to] think about them critically, measure her judgments, and having made them, speak to the point.”<sup>2</sup>

She was exceptional in all these ways, as we will see. But most remarkable was that she always maintained balance between them: her research never detracted from the demanding and supportive attention she delivered to her students. Neither did her involvement in administrative duties, even during her nine years as the director of Dumbarton Oaks (1989–1998), ever reduce her engagement with her students at Harvard. Her only son, Vassili Thomadakis, recalled that, despite her many commitments, she was always a loving mother, returning home in time to review his homework and cook dinner. Her friends and guests remember with delight her homemade and refined Thanksgiving feasts in the old director’s house in Washington or her intimate welcome for the closest of them at Upland Road in Cambridge.

Early on, her inborn sense of social justice stirred her passionate interest in political life and contemporary matters in the United States as well as in Greece, about whose recent history she taught and wrote several important articles.<sup>3</sup> She became an American citizen on 17 May 1997, and was equally attached to both countries, taking great care to participate in important votes (including the November 2008 American presidential election, the outcome of which was one of her last causes for rejoicing). When she was elected a permanent member of the Academy of Athens in 1998,

she returned to Greece, crossing the Atlantic regularly with unfailing stamina. In April 2000 she became a member of the Greek Parliament on the PASOK “honor” list, and in May was named Deputy Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the government of Constantine Simitis. In charge of the Greek diaspora under the Minister of Foreign Affairs, George Papandreou, she traveled from Europe and Russia to Australia and the Far East, including China. On a visit to Istanbul she worked to foster better cultural relations with Turkey, relying partly on the ties she had built at Harvard with Turkish intellectuals like her colleague Cemal Kafadar and Professor Nevra Necipoğlu (Boğaziçi University), who was the first in a series of Turkish students she introduced to Byzantine studies. Although her energy, culture, and polyglot abilities were perfectly suited to the job, she was soon disappointed by the unrewarding results she could achieve in the diplomatic arena. After six months she resumed her scholarly activities, navigating between Cambridge and Athens, for the benefit of the whole Byzantine community.

It is time now to address her multifaceted legacy and awe-inspiring scholarly production. Her first opus, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (1972), based on research for her doctoral thesis in the French national archive and the Vatican library, was the initial landmark of her lifelong interest in the history of the relations between Byzantium and the West. It provided the first comprehensive and detailed account of a long and crucial reign that witnessed the irremediable decline of the Palaiologan state, and the increased weakening of its position vis-à-vis Genoa and Venice. Researching this complex political history and analyzing the many sources of the period, she inevitably had to engage with its social and economic background and was drawn into new fields and methodologies.

Five years later her second book, a pioneering study titled *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (1977), centered on Byzantine Macedonia and focused on family structures, demography, and the division of surplus between farmers and landlords. Her data was based on the *praktika* or tax registers from the Mount Athos monastic archive, which enabled her to follow the fortunes of a given village (e.g., Gomatou) at different dates in the first half of the fourteenth century. Not all the surviving *praktika* had been published at the time

2 As recalled by Professors John Womack and Diana Eck in tributes in the Memorial Service, Harvard Church, 29 January 2009.

3 “The Politics of Hunger: Economic Aid to Greece, 1943–1945,” *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 7 (1980): 27–42; “The Resistance in Evros,” *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 11 (1984): 33–39; “Αντάρτες και συμμαχικές αποστολές στον γερμανοκρατούμενο Έβρο: Η μαρτυρία του Αλέκου Γεωργιάδη,” in *Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Ιστορικού Συνεδρίου*, ed. H. Fleischer and N. Svoronos (Athens, 1989), 302–26.

of her research, and so she came to Paris, where Paul Lemerle allowed her to review the documents being edited for forthcoming volumes of the *Archives de l'Athos* series. Just as Jacques Lefort was then analyzing fiscal practice in the same sources,<sup>4</sup> Laiou employed a primitive computer ("of index cards and knitting needles," as she described it later) to quantify the composition of villages by age, sex, and kinship ties, the amount and quality of peasant land, and the variations in population. She found evidence for an increase in population in the thirteenth to early fourteenth century, showing that a young couple circa 1300 had an average of 3.5 surviving children. She even measured in the village of Gomatou the Gini coefficient, a classic index of income inequality for economists, but not so familiar to Byzantinists. One notes that she did not fall into the trap of the "feudal" interpretation still common at that time; this was not a shortcoming, as some criticized, but a sign of the vigor of her judgment and of her independent mind. In *Peasant Society*, she was one of the first to point out that the peasant household remained the essential unit of land and social organization, even in a period of increased power of great lay or ecclesiastical landowners. She was also among the first to draw attention to the Malthusian limits that Byzantine agriculture had reached in the early 1300s because of decreasing returns, and to the economic weakness that prevailed even before the Black Death.

In *Peasant Society* lay the seeds of the two major themes of her later work: family and gender, and the economy, which had hitherto hardly been touched in scholarly literature about Byzantium, except for agrarian history, in the groundbreaking studies by Ostrogorsky and Lemerle.<sup>5</sup> In the late 1970s, gender studies were on the rise, especially in this country, and for once Byzantinists were not trailing behind. Laiou was not the only one on this track, but among her contemporaries she was one of the first and one of the most productive. It is no wonder that the Austrian organizers of the sixteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Vienna, 1981), who wanted to outline and predict the future trends of Byzantinology in the year

2000, asked her to report on "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," exploring marriage and dowry, the economic activity of different classes of women, their social and political functions, and their culture or literacy. A decade later, she had published four more articles which were included in her first Variorum Collected Studies volume (*Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium*, 1992).<sup>6</sup> In March 1989, as visiting professor at the Collège de France, she delivered in impeccable French a series of lectures, published in 1992 as *Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance, XI<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Also in 1989 she presided over the spring symposium at Dumbarton Oaks on "The Byzantine Family and Household." In 1991–1992 at Dumbarton Oaks she offered a seminar with Diana Moses on the innovative topic of consent and coercion to sex and marriage in Rome and Byzantium. It culminated in a colloquium, published as *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies* (1993), where her own contribution formed nearly half the book. These pioneering studies on a hitherto neglected subject were based on her exceptional command of the scattered evidence. No further research can dispense with them. Her fine mind allowed her to analyze extremely complex—indeed "Byzantine"—cases or situations; she made all the necessary qualifications, stressed all caveats, but never refrained from synthesis and conclusions. Her clarity was the mark of a great historian, as were her ability to compare Byzantium with neighboring civilizations and her complete freedom from the prejudiced views that can mar even the most renowned studies.<sup>7</sup>

Researching the Byzantine family demanded a deep involvement in the legal sources, an involvement she enhanced during her visiting scholarship at the Max-Planck Institut für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte in Frankfurt am Main in 1983. This was the starting point of long-standing scholarly collaboration with Dieter Simon<sup>8</sup> and Marie-Theres Fögen, and their reciprocal participation in several international colloquia in Frankfurt and Dumbarton Oaks (see below).

6 Three more Variorum collected studies are now being planned.

7 See the thematic review by P. Stollard, "Did the Priests Plant a Cross in this Woman's Loins? Love and/or Marriage in the Middle Ages," *Gender and History* 9, no. 2 (1997): 375–79, contrasting Laiou's objective approach to Duby's "French anticlericalism."

8 With whom she coauthored "Eine Geschichte von Mühlen und Mönchen: Der Fall der Mühlen von Chantax," *Bolletino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano*, 3rd ser., 30 (1992): 619–76.

4 J. Lefort, "Fiscalité médiévale et informatique," *RH* 252 (1974): 315–56, repr. with corrections in idem, *Société rurale et histoire du paysage à Byzance* (Paris, 2006), 25–62.

5 See the retrospective study by J. Lefort, "Rural Economy and Social Relations in the Countryside," *DOP* 47 (1993): 101–13.

Her in-depth familiarity with the corpus of Byzantine legislation from the eighth to the fourteenth century was an invaluable asset not only for family studies but also for a host of other contributions regarding peasant rebellion, social justice, fiscal rights, and above all the economic thought of the Byzantines.<sup>9</sup>

The last of these subjects was destined to be one of the cornerstones of the great project of Laiou's mature years, *The Economic History of Byzantium* (*EHB*), which she rightly considered to be her greatest achievement. Conceived in the early 1990s—an idea initiated by Nicolas Svoronos (1911–1989) but unrealized—the *EHB* began in 1993 with the joint support of the Bank of Greece, the Union of Greek Banks, and the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece (MIET). She made her proposal when the time was ripe and only she, with her combination of charm, brilliant intelligence, and organizational talent, could attract such considerable sponsorship and bring the project to completion. It took some thirteen years altogether to achieve the publication of three volumes in English by Dumbarton Oaks in 2002, and in Greek in 2006. In her own words, “the work of coordination was immense and difficult.” She achieved this enormous task thanks to her iron will, unfailing stamina, and careful organization. She chaired the editorial committee with due attention and efficiency, taking into account the various points of view of its multidisciplinary panel. As she explained in a lecture to the Byzantine Institute in Belgrade on 18 December 2000, the final structure of the work accommodated important chapters that were not part of her original plan: the landscape and its use, an overview of the sixth century, and the far-reaching chapter by Nicolas Oikonomides titled “The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy.” In order to further collective work on a project that was more than an assemblage of individual contributions, she invited a number of the thirty contributors to a 1995 workshop in Athens in the intimate nineteenth-century Plaka house of the MIET, where they could present their preliminary

papers and engage in discussion. Continuous collaboration went on as individuals exchanged faxes and heavy envelopes—e-mail and broadband communication were not yet easily available. For instance, the testament of the Thessalonian merchant Theodore Karavas was discussed and analyzed with the help of Jacques Lefort and Cécile Morrisson in order to estimate the structure of his property. More important was the construction of a “simple national model of accounting” for the twelfth century that evolved from constant dialogue about documentary fiscal and monetary data with Lefort, Oikonomides, and Laiou's economic advisors.<sup>10</sup> This accounting model weighed the monetized versus the non-monetized sectors of the economy, and of the agricultural versus the non-agricultural sectors, and it analyzed their share in the public revenues. Laiou's continuous careful supervision, her writing of several chapters, above all the final two essays, “Economic Thought and Ideology” and “The Byzantine Economy: An Overview,”<sup>11</sup> gave this work the greatest possible coherence and cohesion, in spite of the inevitable differences of opinion and unevenness of a multi-authored project.

The resulting publication closed the gap that had hitherto separated Byzantine economic history from the more advanced studies on the economy of the medieval west. It made great progress in integrating data from archaeology and archival documents into a narrative reconstruction of the Byzantine economy, far removed from previous clichés and misconceptions. Although she did not ignore the question of “non-economic exchange,” to which she devoted a separate chapter, Laiou courageously took a side in the debate over the usefulness of modern economic theory and its concepts as a tool for interpreting economic facts of the Byzantine past.<sup>12</sup> Her wide readings on development economics and world economic history had an important impact on her interpretations. Recognized as a “major achievement” and an “important watershed in the history of the Byzantine state and the economy which supported

9 “God and Mammon: Credit, Trade, Profit and the Canonists,” in *Byzantium in the Twelfth Century*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Athens, 1991), 261–300; “The Church, Economic Thought and Economic Practice,” in *The Christian East, Its Institutions and Its Thought: A Critical Reflection*, ed. R. F. Taft, OCA 251 (Rome, 1996), 435–64; and “*Nummus parit nummos*: L'usurier, le juriste et le philosophe à Byzance,” *CRAI* (1999): 583–604.

10 *EHB*, 3:1154–55 and note 25 thanking Christian Morrisson and Stavros Thomadakis.

11 *Ibid.*, 3:1137–56.

12 What the late Évelyne Patlagean called a “perspective de mise à proximité” and criticized in her long review of *EHB* in *Le Moyen Âge* 110, nos. 3–4 (2004): 659–69.

it,"<sup>13</sup> *EHB* contributed to a new understanding of the specificity of the Byzantine economy and its insertion in the larger medieval world.<sup>14</sup>

Laiou had already used the many talents she manifested in the *EHB* enterprise to serve the interests of Dumbarton Oaks. It was at the spring symposium of May 1972 that Laiou, then an assistant professor at Harvard University, made her initial appearance at Dumbarton Oaks. Her first book, on Byzantine foreign relations with the West in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, was just about to appear. Her pioneering lecture that day in Washington, however, was on a very different subject: the structure of the peasant population in late Byzantium. In the 1970s studies of Byzantine social and economic history were in their infancy, so the choice and treatment of her topic made a strong impact on the assembled audience, and heralded, as mentioned above, the future direction of her work. Just nine years later Laiou became inextricably linked with Dumbarton Oaks when she was appointed Dumbarton Oaks Professor at Harvard. In 1983, she was asked to join the advisory board of senior fellows for Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, and in 1989 became the first female director of the institution.

Drawing on her experience as chair of the Harvard history department, Laiou managed the administration of Dumbarton Oaks with an iron hand, attention to detail, and fiscally conservative policies. Realizing that the institution desperately needed more space, especially for its rapidly growing library, she began to make plans for a capital expansion project, setting aside the financial reserves that would make possible major construction and renovation projects in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Among the highlights of her tenure as director were the purchase of an apartment

building (La Quercia), the launching of Dumbarton Oaks' first website, and the computerization of the library holdings. She also organized a major conference on the fiftieth anniversary of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations of 1944, which were instrumental in the foundation of the United Nations. She delivered the opening remarks at this conference and coedited the proceedings.<sup>15</sup> One of her special loves was the garden, where she initiated several major restoration projects, including the rose garden that was especially dear to her heart. In season, she would affix a freshly cut rose to her blouse every day, and a beautiful orchid always adorned her desk. As director she was attentive to detail and maintained the Dumbarton Oaks tradition of elegance by tasting dinner menus ahead of time and choosing wines and flower arrangements. She was solicitous of employees, hosting a festive luncheon to thank them for their patient endurance of a two-year dislocation during the construction of the courtyard gallery and basement office space. She also paid visits to a dying staff member, despite her avowed discomfort with illness and hospitals.

In several ways, Laiou strengthened and expanded the program in Byzantine Studies, whose fiftieth anniversary was commemorated in 1990 with a festive symposium. In 1991, she reinstated the long-abolished position of Director of Byzantine Studies, after serving herself in this additional capacity for the two years subsequent to her arrival at Dumbarton Oaks. She instituted annual colloquia, and initiated two new projects: the hagiography database and a series of translations of saints' lives. Its first volume (1996), devoted to lives of holy women, included her translation of the *Life of St. Mary the Younger*, an account of one of the few married laywomen who achieved sanctity. She also supported long-term institutional projects such as the cataloguing and publication of the seals and coins collections. The first three volumes of the *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art* (1991, 1994, 1996) were published during her directorate, and the final two volumes (each in two parts) of the *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* appeared in 1999, the year after her departure from Washington. She manifested her personal

13 On "achievement" and "weaknesses," see reviews by A. Harvey, *BMGS* 28 (2004): 171–73 and W. Treadgold, *AHR* (Feb. 2004): 235–36; "watershed": review by J. Haldon, *Economic History Review* 56, no. 2 (2003): 380–82.

14 The impact of the book can be measured one way by noting that since the date the digital text was posted on the Dumbarton Oaks website (26 December 2002), *EHB* has been visited 211,402 times and its chapters downloaded at least tens of thousands of times. It is Dumbarton Oaks' second most frequently visited Byzantine electronic publication, surpassed only by *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*. The third most visited publication is Laiou and Mottahedeh's *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*.

15 E. R. May and A. E. Laiou, eds., *The Dumbarton Oaks Conversations and the United Nations, 1944–1994* (Washington, DC, 1998).

interest in coins as a historical source, as well as her gratitude and attachment to Philip Grierson's work, by participating in the 1999 colloquium "Byzantium in the Medieval World: Monetary Transactions and Exchange" with a paper on "Use and Circulation of Coins in the Despotate of Epiros," comparing legal and archaeological documentation.

The preparation of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* was also completed during Laiou's tenure as director, and published by Oxford University Press in 1991. From the earliest stages, she had supported Alexander Kazhdan's plans to produce this encyclopedia of Byzantine studies both as a member of the advisory board and as the lead writer for the cluster of eighteen entries on Byzantine commerce. She also reinvigorated Dumbarton Oaks' relations with French Byzantinists, which had declined since World War II, by inviting Hélène Ahrweiler (1991, 1993), Cécile Morrisson (1993), Michel Balard (1994), and Jean-Pierre Sodini (1997) to be visiting scholars. This initiated an exchange program that allowed reciprocal visits of younger researchers (Alice-Mary Talbot, Jean-Claude Cheynet, Vincent Déroche, and Denis Feissel) and brought about the appointment of Jean-Pierre Sodini and Jean-Michel Spieser to the board of senior fellows.

Particularly impressive was the way Laiou managed to continue active engagement in her own research and publication, despite the demands of her administrative duties. During her tenure she codirected three symposia, the first in 1992 on law and society in the middle Byzantine period, a second in 1993 on Byzantium and the Italians in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and a third in 1997 on the Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and Islam. She also co-edited the proceedings of the conference held in November 1990 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Dumbarton Oaks by Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss.<sup>16</sup> In addition to the colloquium on sexual coercion and consent already mentioned above, in 1993 she co-organized with Hélène Ahrweiler another colloquium focused on the "internal diaspora" of different ethnic groups in the Byzantine Empire. All these conferences resulted in important publications by Dumbarton Oaks.

Laiou's intellectual engagement in both Pre-Columbian and Byzantine studies at Dumbarton Oaks was manifested in 1992 at the fall symposium, "Native Traditions in the Postconquest World" when she delivered the introductory lecture. In her talk, "The Many Faces of Medieval Colonization," she placed the sixteenth-century conquest and colonization of the Americas in the context of earlier economic expansion and religious crusades in the medieval West, and analyzed the different patterns of colonization which developed in late medieval Europe.

Angeliki Laiou left her mark on every aspect of Dumbarton Oaks. Even after her return to Harvard in 1998, she visited faithfully three times a year for the senior fellows' meetings, always elegantly coiffed and wearing the latest fashions. Her incisive questioning of candidates for fellowships, her relentless pressure to speed up publication schedules, and her judicious assessment of new initiatives made her an invaluable senior fellow.

After the publication of *The Economic History of Byzantium* in 2002 her last six years were as busy and productive as ever. While painstakingly supervising the Greek translation of the *EHB*, she organized the first international congress ever staged at the Academy of Athens, on the 800th anniversary of the Fourth Crusade, in March 2004. As with her previous endeavor on the subject at Dumbarton Oaks in 1997, and unlike the many concurrent "celebrations" of 1204 in other European venues, she chose again an original perspective, focusing less on the event and its causes than on its consequences. In the opening lecture, she asked with her typical independence from *idées reçues*: "Why Was the Fourth Crusade Late in Coming?" No less typical was her stamina and the effect of her impressive authority when she stated a deadline and made authors understand it was to be respected; the proceedings of the historical papers of the congress appeared in November 2005, within a remarkably short period of 18 months.

The Byzantine economy remained a central point of interest both in her research and in her teaching. The Cambridge Medieval Textbook that appeared in 2007, *The Byzantine Economy*, co-authored with Cécile Morrisson, was motivated by the desire to express the current state of her ideas in a concise and accessible form, and to take into account the progress in research since the late nineties. It was neither a summary nor an

16 A. E. Laiou and H. Maguire, *Byzantium, a World Civilization* (Washington, DC, 1992).

abridged version of the *EHB*, but was in great part written anew, thanks to a sabbatical leave and an Onassis fellowship. Implicitly replying to earlier critics, she devoted much energy to the study of middle and late Byzantine trade, following notably the recent advances of ceramology with the counseling of Demetra Bakirtzi. The various glazed wares featured prominently in her account and on the cover of the book. The productive and not-so-parasitic role of the cities was duly emphasized, the specificity of provincial towns highlighted, the more recent, even unpublished, discoveries on the site of Amorium adequately exploited. It must be noted that she was, from the time of the first Dumbarton Oaks grant to the Amorium project in 1995, a staunch friend and supporter of these pathbreaking excavations of a truly medieval Byzantine city. As their director, Chris Lightfoot, recalls in the forthcoming third volume of Amorium reports, which will be dedicated to her memory, “in May 2008 at the Dumbarton Oaks Spring Symposium, she spoke appreciatively about the discoveries that have been made at Amorium in recent years and urged us enthusiastically to ‘carry on the good work.’”

In addition to the aforementioned activities, she participated in conferences in several venues, from the International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Paris in 2001—where she took part in the round table series *Les villages dans l’empire byzantin*—to that in London (2006) and many others. Most recently she attended the Fribourg International Colloquium *Donation et donateurs dans la société et l’art byzantin* (April 2008), where her contribution, “The Peasant as Donor: 13th–14th Centuries,” was a highlight. She last appeared at the Dumbarton Oaks spring symposium in May 2008 with a paper, “Regional Trade Networks in The Balkans in the Middle and Late Byzantine Period.”

The wealth and value of Angeliki Laiou’s contributions to Byzantine studies have been recognized not only in her native country, where in 1998 she was the second woman elected a permanent member of the Academy of Athens, but also abroad. She was a fellow of the Medieval Academy of America (1995), of the

American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of the Academia Europea; a corresponding member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; and professor *honoris causa* of the Nankai University (China), where she had lectured recently and had fond memories of her visit. For her diplomatic and political engagement she was decorated as a Commander of the Order of Honor of the Hellenic Republic. Her global reach was manifested during the days when the news of her imminent passing and then word of her death spread over the world: in Athens and Paris and many other places the shock was overwhelming. Flowers and messages of every sort flooded her room at Massachusetts General Hospital during her final hours; her passing left people voiceless or in tears, grieving for a mentor, a guide, a model, a support, and a friend. As intimidating as she could appear, as intensively private as she was all her life long and through her last moments, she knew then how much her colleagues cared for her, and how much she will be missed and mourned. This we have tried to convey in the name of all those who had the privilege of knowing, learning from, and admiring her.<sup>17</sup>

17 For other tributes see *History Department News*, <http://history.fas.harvard.edu/news/?p=258> (accessed 16 December 2008); *The Boston Globe* (21 December 2008); *The Harvard Crimson* (15 December 2008); J. Koder, *Nachruf*, to appear in *Abhandlungen der Ö.A.W.*; *The Times* (London, 16 December 2009); *Eleutherotypia* (15 December 2008); *Ethnos* (15 December 2008); *Kathemerine* (16 December 2009); Elisabeth A. Zachariadou, “In Memoriam,” *Αγγελική Λαίου* (1941–2008), *Historika* 25, no. 49 (December 2008): 470–71; A. M. Talbot, T. Bisson, and M. McCormick, “Angeliki E. Laiou,” *Speculum* 84 (2009): 829–31; and “Εκδήλωσης εις μνήμην τῆς Ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ Ἀγγελικῆς Λαίου (1941–2008), 15 Δεκεμβρίου 2009,” published in the *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 84, no. 2 (2009): 243–91, with tributes by Panagiotes Vokotopoulos, Gilbert Dagron, Johannes Koder, Alice-Mary Talbot, Demetrios Kyritses, and Nano Chatzidaki. The tributes at the memorial services at Harvard and Washington were published by Dumbarton Oaks in a commemorative booklet in March 2010. We are grateful to friends who provided published or unpublished information, especially Prof. Nano Chatzidaki, Michael McCormick, and Laiou’s doctoral students Alex More and Rowan Dorin.

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This list of publications has been compiled starting from the selective list posted by A. E. Laiou on her Harvard webpage (last update 2006). We are grateful to Professors Panayotis Vocolopoulos and Taxiarchis Kolias for providing the list she included in her application to the Academy of Athens (1998) and

the unpublished list of her publications 1991–2005 which was to be printed in a Bibliography of Greek Byzantinists that was prepared for the International Congress of Byzantine Studies in London 2006, but never appeared.

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